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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS—*Continued.*

A paper on the History and Work of Peace Societies in Europe, prepared by William C. Braithwaite, of London, was then read by Mr. Alfred H. Morgan, F. R. G. S., one of the English delegation.

The Chairman next called upon Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, of Boston, who read the following paper on the

HISTORY AND WORK OF PEACE SOCIETIES IN AMERICA.

So far as is known, the first publication in America, professedly and exclusively for the cause of peace, was a tract written in 1809 by a Presbyterian merchant of New York City. Three literary men, one of whom was a clergyman, replied to this in a pamphlet entitled "The Duty of a Christian in a trying Situation." This was answered by the New York merchant, who finally won a few of his friends to the cause of peace. In 1810 a few friends of peace discussed the expediency of forming a peace society, but the prospect of war with Great Britain stood in the way at that time. The awakening of sentiment in this country, as in England, on the subject of peace had as its immediate cause the disastrous and cruel wars which devastated all Europe in the early part of this century. Its deeper and more fundamental cause was the increased appreciation of the spirit and principles of Christianity with which this wonderful century opened. The peace movement is one of the great group of moral causes which, beginning in its first quarter, have already filled this century with their life and triumphs.

The New York merchant, alluded to above, published early in 1815 another pamphlet entitled "War inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ," and in August of the same year the New York Peace Society was formed with more than twenty members, "embracing men of all sects and parties." This was the first peace society that ever existed.

On Christmas day, 1814, the venerable Dr. Noah Worcester, a Congregational minister, published in Boston an ably written brochure entitled "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War," which came like an awakening trumpet blast, and which for years was the chief document of the peace propaganda, and one of the leading influences which brought about the organization of many peace societies in this country and in Great Britain.

Some gentlemen who had read this "Solemn Review" formed the Ohio Peace Society, Warren Co., Ohio, the second of December, 1815. The day after Christmas of the same year twenty-two persons signed the Constitution of the Massachusetts Peace Society.

Among these three societies, formed within a few months of and without any knowledge of one another, the Massachusetts society took the lead. Among its first signers were the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State, two judges, Rev. William E. Channing, several Professors of Harvard and the President, Dr. Kirkland, under whose administration Charles Sumner entered that institution. By 1819, this society had one thousand members who, the reports say, were "respectable" persons, a statement not difficult for this audience to believe. By 1821 the Massachusetts Society had nineteen auxiliaries, the establishment of which it had early commenced. By this time, also, there were eight societies in Ohio. Societies were formed in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Georgia, and in 1828 there were no less than fifty of these organizations in the United States.

One of the chief reasons why the Massachusetts society was the acknowledged leader among these early associations was the publication of *The Friend of Peace* by its Secretary, Dr. Worcester. This was continued for twelve years, from 1815 to 1827, entirely on his personal responsibility. It was a very able publication, as any one will see by turning over its pages, treating the subject for whose promotion it was established from nearly every standpoint. It had a wide circulation for the time, and did much to transform and mould public sentiment in favor of peace. Its editor, like Dr. Henry Holcome, who founded the Pennsylvania Peace Society, had fought in the Revolution and hence spoke from actual knowledge of the horrors of war.

These fifty scattered societies, many of them small and feeble, early began to feel the need of more perfect union in their work. In 1826 the Maine society, influenced by William Ladd, the second Apostle of Peace, led in a movement for a national society. The Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania societies followed. A provisional constitution was drawn up and submitted to all the societies in the country and by them approved, under which the American Peace Society met for the first time on the eighth day of May, 1828, in the city of New York. William Ladd, a graduate of Harvard, at the time a retired sea-captain and one of the wealthiest men and largest farmers in Maine, was chosen leader of the new society. From this time till his death in 1841 he consecrated his time and his fortune to the cause of peace, to whose advocacy he felt that he had a direct divine call. He commenced at once, at his own charges, the publication of the *Harbinger of Peace*, which ran through three volumes till April, 1831. Most of the societies then existing, more than fifty in number, became auxiliary to the new society, and

a number of new ones were soon organized. The Connecticut society remained independent, and by 1835, every county in that State had a peace society.

The American Peace Society had its headquarters in New York till 1835, when it removed to Hartford. At that time the *Calumet*, which had succeeded the *Harbinger of Peace* in 1831, was dropped and the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, whose publication had been begun at Hartford the previous year by the Connecticut society, was adopted in its stead and afterwards published under the auspices of the American Peace Society. In 1837 the American Peace Society removed with its journal to Boston, from which its work has been carried on ever since, a period of fifty-six years. Many of the societies which in the beginning were its auxiliaries gradually disappeared. Some of the stronger ones continued for many years and did excellent work in their several localities. The society finally, finding it difficult to keep up these local auxiliaries, many of them having only a nominal existence, ceased its effort to maintain them and turned its attention to consolidating and strengthening its own work in various ways. It now has life members in twenty of the States. It has issued its journal, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, continuously since 1828, and has also published for many years the *Angel of Peace* for children.

Into the details of the work of any one of the societies in this country time will not permit me to go, but further on a condensed statement of their general lines of work will be given.

The Universal Peace Union, of which our honored co-worker, Alfred H. Love, has been president since its foundation, was organized in 1866. Some of its first members had belonged to the New England Non-resistance Society, a useful but not long-lived organization founded in 1838. The Universal Peace Union was founded and has always tried to proceed upon the principle that all war, even defensive, is wrong. It has over thirty auxiliary or branch societies in different parts of the country, eight or nine of which are active and doing excellent work in connection with the Union. These are the Washington Society, the New York Society, the Rhode Island, the Pennsylvania, the Massachusetts, the Connecticut, the South Carolina and the Chicago branches. Of the rest I have no definite information. The Universal Peace Union has published, since its organization, *The Peacemaker*, with which many of you are acquainted.

"The Peace Association of Friends in America" was organized in 1869. No history of peace work would be at all complete without a special allusion to this body of Christians. Dr. Worcester, in one of the early numbers of the *Friend of Peace*, mentions that in 1815 there were one thousand congregations of Friends in this country, each of which was a genuine peace society. The number of Friends' churches has of late years considerably increased, and what Dr. Worcester said of them in 1815 is still essentially true. Ever since the days of William Penn, in time of war as in time of peace, they have both maintained that all war is contrary to the spirit and teachings of Christ and that it is unreasonable and unnecessary. It was through their influence chiefly that the Indian Peace Policy was adopted by President Grant, a policy which has since greatly reduced the number of Indian wars. "The Peace Association of the Friends," as a peace society, was organized in order, if possible, more fully to confirm the members of the Church in peace principles, and more especially to spread these abroad in

the world. Located at first at New Vienna, Ohio, and since at Richmond, Ind., this organization began in 1870 the publication of the *Messenger of Peace*, which has the largest circulation of any peace paper in this country and is still edited by the venerable Daniel Hill, secretary of the Association since its organization.

Of Christian bodies, furthermore, the Mennonites and Moravians deserve honorable mention, for their consistent devotion to peace doctrines, but I am not aware that they have any regularly organized peace societies, outside of their usual channels of church work.

The "Christian Arbitration and Peace Society" of Philadelphia was organized in 1886, as a branch of the American Peace Society, but limiting its membership entirely to Christian believers, the American Peace Society having always welcomed into its membership any who, whatever their belief as to purely defensive war, were willing and desirous to labor to remove the causes of war and to diminish its frequency. The work of the "Christian Arbitration and Peace Society" has been chiefly directed to stirring up the Christian Churches in this country and in parts of Europe to increased activity in the cause of the Prince of Peace, as the great Peacemaker among men. It published for a few years the *Christian Arbitrator*, which about three years ago was combined with the *Messenger of Peace*, already alluded to above.

The Peace Department of the National W. C. T. U., though only one of the phases of the work carried on by this great organization of women, is really one of the strongest and most influential of our peace organizations. It was established in 1887 at the time of the annual meeting of the W. C. T. U. at Nashville, and placed under the direction of Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey of Winthrop Centre, Maine. It now has superintendents in twenty-five States, and publishes the *Pacific Banner* and the *Acorn*. Its work is chiefly among women and children, though it has a strong and kindly hand to lend wherever there is work to be done.

Of independent societies there are further, the "Friends' Peace Association of Philadelphia," the "Rhode Island Peace Society" and the "Pacific Coast Arbitration Society" at Monterey, Cal. The work of these is largely local or in co-operation with the societies of a more or less national character mentioned above.

The work of the peace societies in America has been so many sided, has extended over such a long period and has so mingled with the general life of the country that it is no easy task to give any just estimate of it. Only a general summary of its most salient features can be given here.

1. The first thing to be accomplished was the transformation of public opinion. The peace societies have often been charged with being sentimental and visionary and impractical. But it is self-evident that in any reform the first appeal must be made to thought and feeling. So long as men thought war glorious and necessary and right and Christian, it was of little use to talk of mediation, arbitration and arbitral tribunals. The history of the peace movement since 1815, in the peace societies, in general society, and in the parliaments of nations, shows most clearly that every practical measure for the real prevention of war has had its tap-root in a transformed thought and sentiment. This first work in which the peace societies have had their full share, though by no means the only agencies, was set about in various ways. They brought together into their union, and

moulded into a common influence the men and women who had begun to cherish the better hopes and the new ideals, and the mere association together, in the work, of such persons as Dr. Channing, Dr. Kirkland, Josiah Quincy, William Lloyd Garrison, Elihu Burritt, John G. Whittier, Andrew P. Peabody, Judge Jay, Thomas S. Grimke, Amasa Walker, Charles Sumner, Robert C. Winthrop, Julia Ward Howe, and many others of like spirit and purpose has had great influence on public opinion, aside from anything they may have written or said.

Ministers of the Gospel were invited to preach special sermons on peace and a large number responded, the American Peace Society in 1835 having five hundred ministers on its list pledged to preach on the subject once a year.

A peace literature, of which there was practically none in 1815, had to be created. Peace papers were published and circulated by thousands. A great variety of tracts and pamphlets on all phases of the subject were sent out in all directions. Annual addresses were delivered for many years before the American Peace Society by eminent men like Quincy, Peabody, Sullivan, Channing, Jay and Sumner, and widely circulated and read. Agents and lecturers were sent out to deliver addresses and to secure the co-operation of the friends of peace in different sections of the country. The other day I came across a curious old document in which it was stated that the people of Vermont generally thought that the peace societies were the cause of the Rebellion in 1861. If they had not so broken down the martial spirit in the North, the Southerners would never have dared to rebel. Of course, the Vermonters much overestimated the accomplishments of the peace workers. But that all this work of education, carried on at times under great difficulties from lack of means and because of the indifference or open opposition met with, has had its full share in laying the foundations of the present improved state of public opinion on this subject, there can be no reasonable doubt.

2. Besides this educational work, attention was given almost from the beginning to practical measures for preventing war and preparing substitutes therefor. In 1816, the Massachusetts Peace Society sent a memorial to Congress pleading for mediation, for peaceful modes of settling international differences, and for the lessening of armaments. From that time to this memorial after memorial of like import has been sent up to Congress from the different peace societies, often through their efforts signed by many thousands of citizens. Protests against possible wars have likewise often been sent to Washington accompanied by suggestions of peaceful ways of adjusting the difficulty, one of the most notable of these being the magnificent protest of five hundred thousand Christian women sent by the W. C. T. U. Peace Department to Washington when the War Department was rubbing up its guns against Chile. There has been scarcely an occasion calling for such action which has not been quickly improved by the peace associations, and it is not exaggerating to say that the long list of peaceful arbitrations between the United States and other countries, amounting in all to nearly forty important cases, the first one of which took place exactly in 1816, the year in which the Massachusetts Society sent the first petition to Congress, is in no small measure due to these efforts.

The peace societies are rightly entitled to the credit of originating the practice of inserting arbitral clauses in commercial and other treaties, a practice now so frequent

with civilized nations. The proposal for such treaties was first made in 1841, by Judge William Jay of New York, long a member and president of the American Peace Society, which took up and strongly recommended the proposition. Joseph Sturge, the distinguished English philanthropist, then on a visit to this country, carried the idea across the water, where it quickly took root in the minds of the English peace-workers and since on the continent.

In this same year, 1841, the proposal to hold a general peace congress or convention was first made at a large meeting of peace-workers in Boston on the 26th of July. The idea was carried out and just fifty years ago last June the first general peace convention was held in London. Three hundred delegates were present, thirteen of whom went from this country. The peace societies of America have been well represented, I believe, in all the peace congresses held in Europe since that time, though the trip across the water has been attended with much sacrifice of money and time.

In 1872, Dr. James B. Miles and Elihu Burritt were sent from this country to Europe to try to get up a convention for the discussion of the reform and codification of International Law. The result of their visit to the peace workers of the old world was the holding of such a convention the next year. Out of this grew the Association for the Reform and Codification of International Law, which has continued its work in Europe since that time, and with which Mr. David Dudley Field has been so honorably connected.

The subject of a high court of nations, now the chief theme of our Peace Congresses and Conferences and already the subject of resolutions in national parliaments, was early discussed by William Ladd, and his essay on this subject in 1840 left little to be said afterwards. It is not too much to hope, and we certainly have a right to expect, that this great practical idea of an international tribunal, advocated by this apostle of peace more than fifty years ago, will soon be realized in some form by the civilized nations.

The peace societies of America are still busy, never more so than now, along all the lines indicated above. More attention has been given by them of late to propaganda in the general press than formerly, because the press is now much more open than it was to peace sentiments. Editors and correspondents are invited to write up certain phases of the subject, and in important cases have been supplied with the necessary material. It is one of the most encouraging signs of the time that many important papers, both of the secular and religious press, have voluntarily taken up this work.

In the schools and colleges also work is not neglected, at least one of our peace journals being sent to nearly all the college and university reading rooms in the land, and among the students of these institutions the new ideas are with increased frequency taken up and seriously studied.

The peace societies have co-operated in recent years with the effort to secure the adoption of arbitration as the settled method of adjusting conflicts between labor and capital, the U. P. U. having been especially active in this direction.

The work of all the peace societies in America, as in all the world, sums itself up in two great lines of work, first, to educate and to consolidate public opinion into the

settled conviction that war is wrong, inhuman and unnecessary, and, secondly, to assist in every legitimate way, in securing the adoption of treaties of arbitration between the nations and ultimately of an international tribunal for the speedy and amicable adjustment of all international differences that cannot be adjusted by diplomacy.

The last paper of the morning was a history of Peace Congresses, Conferences and the International Peace Bureau, by Elie Ducommun, of Berne. The more important parts of the paper were read by William G. Hubbard, of Columbus, Ohio.

The Secretary referred to a paper which had been sent by Edmond Potonié-Pierre, giving a brief history of the "Ligue du Bien Public," of France, but which had been received by him too late for translation. He said the paper would appear, in whole or in part, in the report of the Congress.

The following Committee was then appointed to have charge of the business of the Congress and to bring forward at its close such resolutions as should fittingly express the sentiments of the Congress:

Dr. W. Evans Darby, Dr. Adolf Richter, Robert Treat Paine, Charles H. Howard, Mary Louise Thomas, Benjamin F. Trueblood, Rev. H. S. Clubb, Madame Nico Beck Meyer, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Alfred H. Love and Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey.

Adjourned.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15TH, 3 P. M.

The Congress reassembled, in the Hall of Washington, at 3 P. M.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Perren of Chicago.

A paper on "Karnak and Carthage," or "The Waste and the Recoil of Aggressive War," prepared by the Hon. David Dudley Field, whose eighty-eight years kept him from attending the Congress, was then read by John T. Dorland of London.

KARNAK AND CARTHAGE; OR THE WASTE AND THE RECOIL OF AGGRESSIVE WAR.

To the President and members of the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, Chicago:

GENTLEMEN—You ask me to write something for your Congress about war and peace. I can write but little, but that you shall have; and I begin with describing two of the most striking monuments which war has left upon the face of the earth, Karnak and Carthage; monuments of ancient wars; the heroic past, advocates of war would say, monuments of the barbaric past, say the advocates of peace. Let us make them the texts of a lesson for our generation. There are other like lessons, in different parts of the world, it is true, the heaps of buried walls and temples in Troy, Palmyra and Babylon, but the one on the bank of the Nile and the other on a bay of the Mediterranean, will suffice for a beginning.

Who can look on Karnak without admiration for the magnitude of its proportions, the stateliness of its obelisks, and the beauty of its porticoes and columns. As I sat years ago, in the shadow of these structures beautiful in ruin, and looked on the great river flowing silently before them, and the desolate plain beyond, I had a more vivid sense, than I had ever felt before, of that awful scourge of war, which had wrought this desolation and driven out a sturdy and polished race to bring in the inert and impoverished fellaheen. I recalled the description in Rasselas of the "Father of Waters, whose bounty poured down the stream of plenty and scattered over half the world the harvests of Egypt," and then I shut my eyes to bar out the prospect before me, and to imagine the stories which this Father of Waters could tell if there were a voice to speak, of the marvels which the inhabitants of the valley had wrought in the arts of war and peace, and of the swarming millions, who had labored and danced and sung beside the stream. Why then, I thought, are so many of these pillars broken and fallen into the dust? Read the story of Egyptian kings and Egyptian wars, and you will see. It is not a long story. History was written in those days on the pyramids, obelisks and leaves of papyrus, meagre and void of details. But this we know, that Karnak was despoiled in the savage tumult of war.

With these reflections still in his mind, let the traveller sail down the river, and along the southern coast of the Mediterranean, until he reaches a heap of ruins and is told: there is what remains of ancient Carthage, the rival of Rome. There lies the barbaric monument of the most barbaric destruction of a single city, that the earth has ever beheld. When the cry went up in the Roman Senate, "*delenda est Carthago*," Carthage was a great and flourishing city, full of the treasures of commerce and of art. The tide of war flowed back and forth across the Mediterranean, the flood turning often to the ebb, and the ebb afterwards to the flood, until at last a Scipio drew his ploughshare over the ruins of Carthage and sowed the furrows with salt.

What did these barbarities signify? The destructive impulses in the bosom of man. A human being seems to have two opposite natures warring within him; one that of an angel, the other that of a demon. Who but one possessed by a demon could commit the atrocities of Karnak and Carthage? And what do they teach, but the folly of alternately building and destroying as men do. What is gained by war is in the end lost by war. We verify age by age the fable of Sisyphus, rolling his stone to the top of the mountain only to see it roll back, and then to roll it up again. Men labor with all their strength and skill to build great cities and splendid monuments, to encourage learning, peaceful industry and gentle manners. Then the evil spirit is roused to tear down what others have built. A tyrant from the Euphrates or the Tigris swoops down upon the Nile; a Roman general effaces Carthage; a Mohametan caliph burns the Alexandrian library; and so the world has gone on, building up and pulling down, as if on purpose to prevent a permanent advancement of the race.

Who can tell what the world might have gained, if Carthage and Rome had been peaceful rivals in the pursuits of commerce and the arts? All the coasts of the Mediterranean from the haven of Tyre to the pillars of Hercules might have seen only flourishing cities and fruitful fields. Nay, it might have been possible for the bold navigators who manned the ships of Tarshish to push

their adventures westward into the great and formidable sea beyond the Azores, and anticipate by two thousand years the discoveries of Columbus.

If there be, as I believe there is, a moral government of the world, it is impossible that the Supreme Ruler of all things should look with complacency upon the maiming and killing of those whom He has made a little lower than the angels, the destruction of their habitations and of the fruits of their labors. It must be, that at some time and in some way He will manifest His displeasure and punish the transgressors. Indeed we have the express admonition of Christ himself: "Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." I wish that some competent historian would undertake to show by examples how nearly this prediction has been fulfilled. For myself, I can do no more than refer, and that most briefly, to some of the principal wars since the beginning of the Christian era.

I confine my observations to aggressive war. Far be it from me to think that a nation should not defend itself by force, if need be, against force. If I had lived when Bourgoyne invaded my country, I would have joined in resisting him by force until he was disarmed at Saratoga. If I had been a Russian when Napoleon marched into the north, with fire and sword, I would have helped march him out through snow and ice across the Bersina, to the farther bank of the Nieman. I would have done these things, as I would resist a burglar in my chamber, or a ruffian on the highway. I believe in using force to resist force, whether of burglar or invader. There are bullies among nations as there are bullies among individuals, and I would treat them alike. There is small need however of discussing this question, since if aggressive war were so discountenanced as to be next to impossible, there would be no occasion for defensive war, and so I am against all aggressive war whatever.

Not far from the time when the memorable words of Christ, that I have quoted, were uttered, Augustus was Emperor of Rome. On his death, his testament was read in the Senate, by which, Gibbon tells us, "He bequeathed as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the Empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed, as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries; on the west, the Atlantic Ocean; the Rhine and Danube on the north; Euphrates on the east; and towards the south, the sandy deserts of Arabia and Africa." But from that time to the reign of Trajan, the imperial city, not only held, but extended its conquests. Thence forward however, the tide began to turn; disaster followed disaster, until Alaric four hundred years later assaulted and took possession of Rome, and though the Byzantine empire held out a thousand years later, it held out amid a series of conflicts, during which the human race seemed recoiling to barbarism. The aggressions of the Romans upon the Germans and the Gauls brought on in the end that great human tide which

"The populous north poured *** from her frozen loins to pass
Rhine or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
Came like a deluge on the south and spread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands."

Then came the Crusaders to recover the Holy Sepulchre. For two hundred years with now and then an interval the kings of Jerusalem held sway in Palestine from Egypt to Lebanon. Where now is the kingdom of Jerusalem? Swallowed up as a drop of rain in the sea. Where is

the great Moslem Empire itself which at one time threatened the Christian West? Turned back upon Asia and even now only halting before it recrosses the Bosphorus.

Coming down to modern days, let us ask, what was gained by the religious wars following the Reformation, more than could have been gained by moderation and peace? There were atrocities on both sides. Tilly is a synonym for horrors. On the other side nurses in Southern Germany even now quiet their babes with the whisper "Hush, the Swedes are coming." What did France gain by the perfidy of Louis the XIV, in seizing Strasburg, during a profound peace? In a publication of that time, I remember the letter of an English statesman, in which he concluded an account of this act of the French king, with expressing the hope that Europe would never rest until the stolen city had been restored to Germany. Where is Alsace-Lorraine now? I am not considering the question whether its forced recession was justifiable or wise, for it must be borne in mind, that times have greatly changed since Louis the XIV, and that the people of a country now have something to say about the transfer of their allegiance from one power to another, as if they were merely pawns on the chess-board to be moved according to the skill or want of skill of the players.

What did the war which England waged against her American colonies gain for England? The dismemberment of her empire, and the humiliation of signing with Franklin the treaty of Versailles. What did France gain by her persistent hostility to England? The chagrin of seeing her enemy profit by the war, to gain provinces and islands east and west, in every part of the globe. What did the conquests of Napoleon on the continent of Europe gain for France at the last? The bloody Beresina, the occupation of Paris, and the humiliation of Waterloo. What did the third Napoleon gain for France, by the Franco-German War? Let her receded provinces, her burden of taxation, and the ever increasing armaments of Europe give answer.

The standing armies of Europe at this time, according to the Statesman's Year-Book for 1893, are computed as follows, the men in arms, including officers, being classed as the Regular Army, the reserves as effective. In Germany the Regular Army amounts to 511,744 men, the effective to 2,234,631; Italy, Regular Army, 247,809, effective, 3,029,874; Russia, Regular Army, 1,024,150, effective, 3,115,556; Great Britain, Regular Army, 238,320, effective, 627,336; France, Regular Army, 515,375, effective, 3,750,000; Austria-Hungary, Regular Army, 326,031, effective, 1,753,583; Turkey, Regular Army, 700,620; Netherlands, Regular Army, 22,875, effective, 69,000; Spain, Regular Army, 115,735, effective, 1,083,595; Denmark, Regular Army, 42,950, effective, 60,000; Sweden, Regular Army, 325,535; Norway, Regular Army, 35,900. The reserves in Germany do not include the landsturm. Without counting these, the number of men now under arms, including officers, appears to be 4,107,045, while the reserves, number 16,344,574. What an awful spectacle! The increase in the public debts of the following countries since 1870 has been as follows: Italy from 483 to 576 million pounds sterling, Austria from 340 to 580 million pounds sterling, Russia from 340 to 750, France from 500 to 1300. The government debts of the European world in 1870, according to a statement of Sir John Lubbock, in the English House of Commons, amounted to four billion pounds, and in 1893 to six billion pounds. How long can this process last?

So after all the wars, by which men have torn one another in pieces, what do we see? Europe converted into a vast camp; millions of men in arms; fortresses and munitions of war built and furnished without number; public debts increased beyond all parallel, and citizens awaiting breathless, the tocsin for the battle of Armageddon, prophesied of old, when, as we are told in Holy Writ, "The spirits of devils go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty." It would be idle for any man, and most of all for an American, to speculate on the probable results of the impending conflict. We may be certain only that an awful carnage and a frightful destruction of property will ensue. The map of Western Europe may not be changed, but Eastern Europe is ripe for revolution; and if that shall bring the resurrection of Poland, a constitutional government for Russia, and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, all will not be lost. But, when will men learn, that while all war is wasteful, few things recoil so surely and so terribly as aggressive war.

Yours very truly,

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

August, 1893.

During the reading of Mr. Field's paper Mr. Quincy, the Chairman, withdrew, having to return to Washington. Dr. W. Evans Darby was asked to take the chair for the remainder of the session.

The next paper presented was by Angelo Mazzoleni, of Milan, Italy. It was an extremely valuable statistical paper showing the immense burdens imposed by war upon the people. It will appear in full in the report of the Congress as will all the papers presented. Some of them will appear in later numbers of the *ADVOCATE*.

The Secretary then read a paper sent by E. T. Moneta, Editor of *Il Secolo*, Milan, Italy, on the subject "What is War?" It treated the subject from the moral and social points of view, and was greatly appreciated by the audience.

Signor V. Zeggio, Royal Italian Commissioner to the Exposition, and special delegate to the Peace Congress from the Lombard Peace Union, then addressed the Congress as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Hardly a more beautiful, noble and humanitarian subject could be found to be discussed by a speaker.

Universal peace has been from the most remote times up to the present days the dream of all noble souls, philosophers and poets.

War should not now exist, or else it should be left only to barbarian tribes, while peace should mark the highest point of modern civilization and progress.

While we are as yet quite far from this point, yet we are steadily approaching it.

International Arbitration is the only means by which we can accomplish our aim, and all fervent advocates, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from one end of the world to the other, should unite for this one purpose.

The "*Unione Lombarda della Pace*," the least Platonic of all of our institutions having for their object this noble ideal, has honored me in naming me as its delegate, together with Dr. Hector Patrizi, a worthy and energetic advocate, and its Representative in Chicago and Prof. Oldrini, a zealous promoter of Social Reforms.

Little can I say and certainly nothing new; but as I have the conviction that all great ideas, in order to accomplish their aims, must be constantly repeated, so in a few words I will give my opinions on this subject.

International Arbitration is, for the moment, the only possible means to avoid deadly conflicts.

It has already given a splendid showing lately in preventing conflicts, not only among civilized nations, but in some cases also among people called barbarous.

The first arbitration took place in 1794 between England and the United States, and it was decided by three members named by each of the two nations. Five other controversies have taken place between the above mentioned nations since 1871, and every one has been decided by means of Arbitration. Worthy of mention is the case of 1871, in which presided the Italian, Frederic Sclopis. A similar decision was rendered by the Hon. Mr. Marsh, United States Minister at Rome in 1874, on account of differences having arisen between Italy and Switzerland in regard to territorial limits.

I will call your attention, Ladies and Gentlemen, to the verdict given by the Italian Baron Blanc, in regard to the question which arose in 1885 between your country and Spain, and also to the part which Italy is taking in the actual Behring Sea case.

The frequency of the choice of Italian delegates to International Tribunals of Arbitration is an indisputable fact, and this plainly shows how among sister nations Italy enjoys the reputation of being a nation eminently civilized and of peaceable endeavor.

But not alone do European and American States resort to Arbitration; for in 1876 Persia and Afghanistan referred their differences to Arbitration, and again in 1879 China and Japan did the same.

These two nations referred their cases in regard to the possession of the Loo Choo Islands to General Grant, and this last mentioned case has been without doubt a triumph of our ideas. But, alas! such a humanitarian institution has not, as yet, succeeded in preventing conflicts for political supremacy and national independence, and as a consequence of all this the European populations are the sufferers.

Universal alliances will never amount to anything, as long as the people are not allowed their natural limits, and as long as barriers of all kinds are separating them.

The mosaic, to use a modern expression, of the European map, is the worst enemy of peace. The day when the people of Europe shall be ethnographically divided, when they shall be freed from all foreign domination, then only can peace be assured and the United States of Europe a realizable dream, then only will the Tribunal of International Arbitration become a permanent institution.

Italy follows with energy and love the movement tending to disarmament and peace. One of the most widely popular newspapers of Italy, *Il Secolo*, of Milan (and it may even be called the official organ of the League of Peace), and its director, Mr. Teodoro Moneta, are among the most fervent advocates of peace.

This League of Peace binds together parties of widely different inclinations. Teodoro Moneta is a convinced Republican.

Ruggero Bonghi, another of the most fervent and devoted advocates of peace, is a Monarchist in the most strict sense of the word. This will evidently demonstrate how all good hearted men, no matter to which political party they may belong, are united, at least, for the quiet solution of this humanitarian problem.

My wishes are, that for the benefit of civilization and progress the voice of this International Congress may be heard and obeyed by all European Governments, that all its adherents of every nationality and land may do all in their power to help the diffusion of this noblest of all ideas, and that the solution of these questions, which are a constant menace to Peace, be speedily reached, viz., the "Irredentism of Italy," the *Oriental question and the equilibrium of the Mediterranean Sea*.

If, from this country, so happily free from militarism, should come the powerful word, powerful enough to be heard and considered, this country of George Washington could then proudly add another star to its Republican Crown.

At the close of Mr. Zeggio's address Dr. Richter, delegate from the General German Peace Society, read the following paper entitled

THE BURDENS IMPOSED BY WAR ON THE PEOPLE.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

At the seventh session of the Peace Congress at Berne, on the 26th of August, 1892, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood and Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, eminent workers in the American Peace Movement and faithful supporters of our common cause, made the proposition and expressed the expectation that the fifth Congress should be held at Chicago on the occasion of the Columbian Exposition. After a little hesitation and a short discussion, on motion of our distinguished French friend, Frederic Passy, who in spite of his years still fights with youthful ardor in the front ranks of the battle, this proposition was unanimously accepted. And in my judgment rightly so, for not only does our peace cause have an exceptionally large number of adherents in the United States of America, not only is your government giving a most instructive example and seeking by friendly offers to turn the other nations also into the path of friendly solution of International differences, but I am also of the opinion that our American friends, through their participation, in considerable numbers, in the Congresses of Europe, at Paris, London, Rome and Berne, have won the right to expect a visit from us to their country.

So, then, we Germans have appeared here, to give evidence that the German people wish peace; that they wish to take part in the great work of civilization, which shall serve to bring into practice between nations also, in place of violence, the same principles of justice which cultivated men have long since recognized in their dealings one with another. We have also come all the more gladly, in order to learn to know the country which for many years has given a protecting shelter to so many of our fellow countrymen, and likewise also this city where, so to speak, every other man is a German.

I have come hither after a hard, even bitter contest in my native land,—a contest of the free citizens against the

militarism which with us is more and more all-devouring. Though our friends have this time also been beaten by a majority of eleven votes, and thereby new and crushing burdens have been laid upon the people, yet this struggle has shown, on the one side, that the majority of the people stood on our side, and, on the other, that the peace movement is gaining a firm foothold in Germany and that the number of its pronounced adherents is increasing. Only the most unheard of scarecrows and representations of threatening danger, which clothe themselves in official dress, succeeded with difficulty in winning this very small majority for militarism.

Are not the burdens which rest on the peoples of Europe through the constant strife for the greatest number of troops, already in fact enormous, and especially in Germany, my native country, which, from time out of mind, in the middle ages and down to the present moment has been the battleground of foreign armies and yet to-day feels the after-effects of the disturbances and exhaustion of those long wars? Was it not conceded in the Reichstag by Her Von Bennigsen, who is certainly friendly to the Government, that on account of the all-devouring militarism no money is at hand for the most necessary equipments? If we consider the monstrous sums which the States of the Continent spend every year on their armies and navies, of course (as they say) only for the maintenance of peace, and the growth of these in the last twenty years we shall clearly see that, on the one side, these burdens can not thus be much longer borne, that the people, exhausted in time of peace, are breaking down under the weight of their armor, and consequently the purpose can not at all be attained which the governments have in view, viz., to render their people capable of resistance in time of war. On the other hand, every sensible man will think that the Austrian Minister Kalnok is certainly right, who recently declared at a meeting that he sees the danger of war precisely in the greatness of the armaments, because there is a natural tendency to wish to test the increased strength; the tightly drawn bow needs only a little thrust to send the arrow whizzing away. I have taken the following authentic figures, in French money, of the present military burdens from the work of Captain I. Molard, professor in the military school. From these the increase during the last twenty years, pointed out above, will stand out with frightful significance:

	1869.	1892.
France,	fr. 588,852,970	fr. 864,150,757
Russia,	615,660,744	1,239,717,460
Germany,	280,417,743	702,121,056
England,	605,675,000	529,750,008
Austro-Hungary,	227,580,869	393,062,460
Italy,	176,751,008	362,104,431
Belgium,	36,885,000	51,155,862
Bulgaria,		20,617,435
Denmark,	18,166,774	36,682,294
Spain,	125,456,696	178,309,128
Greece,	3,591,260	23,821,763
Holland,	51,649,365	74,982,814
Montenegro,		
Portugal,	27,969,468	44,488,862
Roumania,	18,047,822	38,355,598
Servia,	16,211,276	11,327,483
Sweden,	} 22,735,008	43,541,240
Norway,		14,329,740
Switzerland,	2,587,258	45,253,591
Turkey,	100,076,375	?
Total,	2,905,670,376	4,973,701,482

Surely one might despair in the presence of such numbers, if one were not encouraged by the fact that the number of the friends of peace in Europe is also seen to be continually growing. In consequence of our appeal sent out from the Berne Congress, there has also at last been formed in Berlin a large German peace society, to which the already existing associations have attached themselves as auxiliaries. This society has done me the honor to send me here as one of its representatives.

With the growth of the burdens, grows more ardent also the wish of the peoples that tribunals may be established through which conflicts of arms may be banished from the world. In fact scarcely a year passes by in which there is not an actual decision by such a tribunal, showing how easily this way may be entered upon where the wish to do so exists, and that it also reaches the desired goal. In the way of treaties for the establishment of arbitral union between nations is progress also being made, not only here in your land, but we hope also that your invitation and appeal to the European States has not fallen upon unfruitful soil. Indeed, in military Germany the friends of peace succeeded in the Reichstag in securing the insertion in the new commercial treaties concluded a few years ago of a clause providing that all difficulties arising in connection with them should be settled by arbitration.

When we see what awful burdens the armed peace has already laid upon the peoples,—burdens which, through private sacrifices of individuals for their own sons in arms or for the maintenance of the armies in time of peace, represent a considerably greater sum than that given above,—yet how immensely greater are the burdens and terrors which actual war brings with it, especially a future war in which such masses of men, furnished with the most perfect instruments of destruction, will fall upon one another. He who has once experienced the horrors of a war, who has seen with his own eyes the sorrow and misery following in its train (and there are many such among us), must agree with the statement “War is an awful misfortune even for the victor.” Certainly we in Germany can bear witness to this; we have felt it in our own persons; and still to-day the ruins of our old cities and villages proclaim the destructiveness of war; still to-day our chronicles tell of the fierceness and cruelty of soldiers whom war had brutalized, of plague and famine which nearly always following in the wake of armies have desolated our territories. Even if war, thanks to international agreements, is now more humane, if it is no longer waged against the private citizens of hostile countries, from whom in former times fierce marauders took away their last possession, yet it has retained otherwise all of its horrors and burdens, and the mere thought that thousands of brave, noble men in their best years shall be compelled to kill others and to be killed themselves, while the products of their industry, secured by years of painstaking labor are lost perhaps for ever, must fill every true friend of humanity with shame and horror. In a truly noble way and with the deepest feeling has our noble friend, the Baroness Von Suttner, painted the horrors of war in “Die Waffen Nieder,” a story which has been translated into nearly all modern languages. It fell like a kindling spark into ready material, and it has won for us a host of zealous coworkers.

Up to the present time, unfortunately, things are in such a state that in case of a war the entire strength of

the nations participating will be brought into requisition; and in order that they may give their last man and their last penny it is necessary that before the war they should be brought into the right disposition and be kept thus while it is going on: for it is my deepest conviction that modern peoples do not wish war. Those who wish to wage war, or rather to keep up the possibility of war, are, in comparison with the millions of people at large, small in numbers, but—they are those in power. Here the peace associations must apply their lever, they must seek to bring to the consciousness of the masses the thought that wars are not something unavoidable, an institution established by God; that on the contrary through international arbitration even international strifes can be done away; that it is an unjustifiable pre-judgment to think that a people sacrifices something of its dignity when it submits its case to a third party; in other words, that the principles which are the pillars of States and of modern human society must also come to prevail in politics and in the intercourse of peoples one with another.

At any rate, mountains of prejudices will yet be cleared away, and when the principle of arbitration shall have become a living reality among nations, then the realization of this noblest of all thoughts will not be far distant. We must, the very first thing, win the newspapers, which in Europe, by their senseless chauvinism and their incitements to war, have done so much mischief on both sides of the Rhine, especially as they are usually considered the outcome of public opinion. We must also win our parliaments, which will always have a certain deciding influence, even where questions of war and peace are not left to them to decide.

More and more must the thought be pushed that only to the true friends of peace can the destiny of peoples be entrusted, and that only such should be chosen as representatives. In both these ways, moreover, very encouraging progress is to be noted; and in fact upon me and upon all who were present did it make a very strong impression when at the Capitol in Rome in 1891 the representatives of seventeen European nations gave expression to their desire for peace. I consider such a demonstration much weightier than the after-dinner speeches which are made at one of the customary meetings of princes, in order to conceal their thoughts, notwithstanding our so called politicians lend an anxious ear to them. Alongside of the parliamentary agitation is found the activity of our Congresses, constituting a popular agitation; and over against the activity of the Representatives stands that of the electors. We must seek to make it clear to our fellow citizens that we have got beyond the times of the ancient heroism; that it is not a beautiful or noble thing when cannon vomit forth death and destruction and scatter bits of flesh and fragments of bone around, in order to show who is in the right. Is such a thing worthy of the present state of humanity? We say no, and again no. The fact that thousands have come together here out of all lands to show their participation in the work of peace, is a proof that our ideas are spreading farther and farther. The work must be carried forward through earnest and faithful effort until no longer shall public discussion be controlled by the next war, but the next decision of international arbitration shall have possession of all minds. Those are mighty who control the destiny of peoples and to-day have the reins of government in their hands, but public opinion is mightier still; and

when once it has declared itself, no ruler has ever been able to resist it. Let us draw new courage from such a meeting as has to-day brought together the friends of peace on the occasion of the celebration of a notable event in civilization. Let us go back to Europe filled with the thought that on the other side of the ocean also many combatants are contending for the same idea, and with the hope that we too shall succeed, after the example of our American brethren, in reaching the goal for which we are all striving, "the (in peace) United States of Europe."

Opportunity was then given for five minute speeches.

MR. ALFRED CRIDGE, of San Francisco, said that the war spirit derives its nutriment from our system of representation by districts. The voters on each side use their most strenuous efforts not only to elect their own candidate, but also to deprive their opponents of any representation at all. He advocated the replacing of this competitive warlike politics by a coöperative peace politics, in which all should be represented. The Civil war of 1861-65 was a necessary consequence of our political system. The people do not make war, it is the politicians and rulers. With true representation there would be no war. The best and ablest men would find their way to our Legislatures and our Congress. The incidents at Homestead were but the specks of a coming war if we persist in our present methods and if the newspapers persist in claiming that the people rule when they do not. He said there was no representative government on this planet outside of the cantons of Switzerland.

MRS. BELVA A. LOCKWOOD, being called upon, said she would give way to others who had sent in their names, and would speak some other time.

MRS. KIRKLAND, of Chicago, called attention to the Baroness Von Suttner's book, *Die Waffen Nieder* (Lay down your Arms). She wished all in the room would do what they could to circulate that admirable book. It shows us that the terrors of war, which we imagine to have disappeared with mediæval times, have not ceased.

DR. TRUEBLOOD, the Secretary, explained that there are two translations of the Baroness Von Suttner's work in this country. The one is an abridged translation entitled "Ground Arms," published by A. C. McClurg and Co., of Chicago. The authorized translation is entitled "Lay down your Arms," and is published by Longmans, Green & Co., of London and New York.

MRS. AMANDA DEYO, of Scranton, Pennsylvania, called attention to the able papers given that day before the Congress. It was one of the most glorious causes in which people of all nations could gather together, that of trying to have difficulties settled upon a different basis from force. She believed that the principles of life, truth and love were mightier than Krupp guns. What "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had done for the overthrow of slavery, the Baroness Von Suttner's "Lay down your Arms" will do for

the destruction of war. The women of the land should speak out and save their husbands, fathers and brothers from the bloody tyranny of war. Stop all war and let us have peace. The women would besiege all the governments of the world, if their linen and China closets were desecrated. But their boys were something infinitely greater. The women want the ballot that they may save their boys. The women will make war upon war with weapons that are mighty, for they are made in the forge of God Almighty Himself.

DR. SAMUEL W. BOARDMAN, President of Maryville College, Tennessee, wished to call attention especially to Christ's part in this great movement. This is a gathering of Christian nations and an exposition of Christian industries very largely. This cause seems to be in some special sense identified with the work of Christ as the Prince of Peace, as foretold in prophecy. "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares," etc. Of the progress of His Government and Peace there shall be no end. This peace, while referring primarily to the individual soul, covers also the relations of individuals and of nations to one another. "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation." President Boardman then referred to the military exhibits at the Exposition. While a grand monument of our industry and our art, they were to him something ridiculous. The idea that mankind should construct such a ship as the Illinois, that brothers may be able to kill and destroy one another! Still he was surprised to find how deeply the peace movement had taken hold of the nations, as evidenced by the Exposition and especially by the Peace Congress.

MR. J. J. MILLER, of Vera Cruz, Indiana, said he had prepared a paper on the subject of an international court to bring before the Congress, but could not present it at that time. He remembered to have read in history that two hundred bishops once met in Rome to decide the question whether women should be allowed to learn the alphabet. All but four of them voted no, because learning the alphabet would disqualify them for their duty towards their husbands. They declared that the woman who committed the multiplication table was a fit subject for hell. Only two centuries ago! think of it! Freedom, he said, is an absolute essential to peace. His sentiment was that there should be neither white nor black, rich nor poor, male nor female. There should be a peace department in the government. We have recently added a department of agriculture: why not a peace department?

MR. JOHN BRANSON, of Philadelphia, said we should devise some means of settling disputes between nations without resorting to the gun, the cannon and the sword. A Board of Arbitration should be formed, a permanent one, for nations having quarrelled and being about to enter on war are in no condition to form a board of arbi-

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tration. A permanent board should be formed, to stand like watchmen on the tower. France would not have taken advantage of Siam in the late dispute if a Board of Arbitration had existed. But as it was she had it all her own way.

JOHN FREDERICK HANSON, of South Dakota, expressed his surprise and delight at the extent to which the peace movement had developed. All reforms begin at the bottom and work up. To effect the object we have in view we must influence the masses. Our sisters are suffering because they have not the suffrage. A sentiment will have to be created which will give it to them. When he spoke of the people he did not mean church members, but especially the masses outside who are watching to see what the Church will do. The Church of God is responsible for the existence of wars, and might wipe the whole war system from the face of the earth, if she would only do her duty. In Denmark and Norway, where he had visited, he could not get the aristocracy to attend peace meetings, but hundreds of laborers were eager listeners. All should go home and work up a peace sentiment among the people that would tell in years to come.

Before adjournment the following poem written by Mr. Thomas Baird, of the *Inter-Ocean*, and dedicated to the Peace Congress, was read :

PEACE VICTORIOUS.

Our pilgrim fathers years ago
Left hearth and home and crossed the flood;
Their fathers passed through seas of blood,
That liberty might reign below.

They came and claimed this Western sod,
The broad Atlantic held their fears;
The soil they wet with thankful tears
As there they gave themselves to God.

Columbia's greatness there began,
When conscience surely led the way
Into a purer, brighter day
Of freedom and of hope for man.

Still o'er the ages shines the light
That guided first her pilgrim sons;
Through all her laws the legend runs :
"This land of God and truth and right."

The nations, laden with their best,
In this triumphant year of grace,
Meet young Columbia face to face
In this great city of the West.

And all the years yield up their store,
And every clime and every land
Seems to fulfil the king's command
To live in peace and war no more.

From every clime and every land
Come voices of the future day,
When wrong and war shall pass away,
And love shall lead us by the hand.

How fitting then that strife should cease,
That creeds should sink, and all clasp hands,
As here we float above the sands
The banner of the Prince of Peace.

AUGUST 16TH, 10 A. M.

The Congress reassembled in the Hall of Columbus under the Presidency of Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey of Winthrop Centre, Maine, Superintendent of the Peace Department of the W. C. T. U.

The session was opened with the singing of "America," and with prayer by Mrs. Amanda Deyo.

MRS. BAILEY, on taking the chair, made an interesting address, the chief points of which are as follows :

Woman, though called the weaker vessel, has a marvellous power for good or evil. Ever since the first mother, who used this power for evil, the world has been blighted by many evils. War, which has contributed so much to the world's history, has always felt the power of woman. The Spartan girls were trained in gymnastics that they might impart strength to their warrior sons. Marriage was encouraged among the Spartans for one object only, viz., to rear sons for war. For ages military glory was considered the chief thing attainable on this earth. To die in battle was to have a sure passport to the realms of happiness. Thus woman came to respect the life of a soldier. The more so as she saw only the glitter of war.

Many wars have been due to avaricious kings. Women too have sent out armies in their own interests. Women's personal charms have caused wars. Witness Helen and Cleopatra, the latter of whom ought to be called the "queen of battle." Not only woman's love but her revenge has caused wars. The massacre of St. Bartholomew was due to one woman, Catharine. What women approve men often follow. To be the advocate of peace is congenial and peculiarly appropriate to woman's character. "Let woman make peace." If permanent peace is to exist she must sustain it. She must make no compromise. War is a sin according to the New Testament.

Many women realize what war is, but being disfranchised can only raise their voices against it in their own homes. Women should devote their special gifts to the cause of peace. Home can never be safe while the demon war is inventing instruments of destruction. The Church of Christ, of which women compose the larger part, has the power to put an end to war, if it would.

Children are taught in the same Sabbath School that they must not kill, and yet that they may glorify God by imitating the life of the soldier, whose trade is to kill. Most Sabbath-School teachers are women. If "boys' brigades" are kept out or driven out of the Sabbath Schools, women must do it. Sabbath-School concerts should not be made to flavor of military glory. Women show the greatest patriotism in keeping their sons from the crime of shedding blood. Woman can do more for

peace now; she labors side by side with man in peace societies. She has the first training of the future generations. Must woman be satisfied simply with binding up wounds and nursing in hospitals, and not seek to prevent the evil which she tries to mitigate?

Mrs. AMANDA DEYO, of Scranton, Pa., then spoke upon the "Curse of War upon Woman." She introduced her remarks by quoting Whittier's poem, "The New Song." The substance of her address was contained in the following "Manifesto of French Women against War," which she read:

MANIFESTO OF FRENCH WOMEN AGAINST WAR.

BY MADAME V. GRIESS-TRAUT.

We women belong to all lands;

We, who form half the contingent of the nations;

We, whom the laws of men have excluded from councils where once our mothers' voices caused Peace to triumph;

We, on whom the barbarity and license of War ruthlessly inflict death and outrage;

We, whom it deprives of all that our very being clings to—father, husband, son, home;

We, whose consciences have not learnt to distinguish between the single homicide, justly branded and punished, and homicide in mass, though perpetrated on the innocent, which is rewarded with glory (?);

We have not forgotten the commandment: "Thou shalt not kill;"

We, whom Society deems capable and fitted for its heaviest duties without the corresponding privileges;

We, whose mission on earth is conciliation, peace, self-sacrifice;

We, whom a longer silence would render accomplices in this detestable squandering of human life, this waste of treasure, this desolating of whole provinces!

WE PROTEST WITH ALL OUR ENERGIES

Against War—against this odious abuse of power,

Against the intentional disregard of the pacific means of INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, so prolific of good.

WE PROTEST

In the name of humanity—whose sacred laws are violated by War,

In the name of our country—deprived of her sons by War,

In the name of the family—dismembered and destroyed by War,

In the name of progress—driven back by War,

In the name of morals—perverted by War.

We, wives—we, mothers—we, caretakers of the family, request from all men, possessed of hearts, brotherly help in this Holy Crusade.

We address a burning appeal to all Legislators—to all Teachers of youth;

Let them frame laws—let them second our efforts—let them teach to our children

A HORROR OF WAR—A HORROR OF CARNAGE—A HORROR OF FRATRICIDE.

JULIA WARD HOWE, of Boston, who was not able to attend the Congress, sent the following letter to Dr. Trueblood, which was then read:

MY DEAR SIR:

It is with great regret that I find myself unable to attend the World's Peace Congress appointed to be held this month under the auspices of the Columbian Exposition.

Among the many questions whose open discussion adds to the interest of the present memorable celebration at Chicago, none is more worthy of attention than that which will occupy the time of your Convention.

While the holding of international Expositions is in itself an evidence of the progress of pacific arts and ideas in all civilized communities, the practice of mankind in general remains far behind the convictions of those who desire that nations as well as individuals should govern themselves according to the Golden Rule.

We were grieved, twenty-nine years ago, when France was despoiled of a part of her territory by a war in which she had indeed been the aggressor, but in whose final settlement her punishment far exceeded the limits of international justice. We are still more deeply grieved to-day at seeing that country, which has so recently suffered the horrors of war, herself engaged in inflicting more horrors upon a nation unable and unwilling to sustain a conflict with her.

To me, the great lesson of the Franco-Prussian War was the thought which it awakened in my mind that women, as the mothers of men, women, who pay at first hand the cost of human life, should have eminently the right to interfere for its protection. I endeavored then, with but small success, to arouse the women of Christendom to a sense of this responsibility, and to unite them in a protest against the arbitrament of the sword, and in favor of the settlement of international questions upon their real merits, appealing to the principles of common justice, and not to the brutal methods of armed violence.

I surely hope that the Congress about to be held will mark an epoch in the world's progress in the direction of a pacific guardianship of national rights and claims. And I further hope that in its counsels the voices of earnest women, eloquent in their own conviction, will not be wanting.

A temporary indisposition, added to the weight of my many years, keeps me from making the long journey to Chicago at this season. I shall wait eagerly for the good report of those who will meet with yourself to give the listening world "glad tidings of peace."

Yours in hearty fellowship,

JULIA WARD HOWE.

NEWPORT, R. I., Aug. 2, 1893.

Mrs. MARY FROST ORMSBY, of New York, was next on the program, and in a neat little speech, which much pleased the audience, told of the conception, construction and history of the first White-Bordered Peace Flag. It was first presented by her to the Peace Congress at Rome in 1891, then sent to the Congress at Berne in 1892, had been raised in front of the Administration Building at the Exposition on the 4th of July at the

request of the municipal authorities of Chicago, and was now presented to the Fifth Universal Peace Congress. "It is," Mrs Ormsby said, "the earnest prayer of all lovers of peace that this emblem of peace may forever in the future as in the past carry the lesson of arbitration; and that war shall reign no more."

Mrs. EDWARD ROBY, of Chicago, who was to have addressed the Congress on the subject "The Women's Corps of the Bleeding Heart," was kept away by illness in the family. She sent a letter of regret and of greeting which was read by the Secretary.

MARIE FISCHER-LETTE, of Berlin, one of the leading peace workers of Germany, not being able to attend the Congress, sent a letter which was then presented. The Baroness BERTHA VON SUTTNER, of Vienna, also sent the following letter which was read by Madame Wisinger:

I send my cordial greetings to my fellow workers now assembled in the cause of Peace. It is not only in my name, but in the name of the twenty-five members of our Committee, and, I may add, of thousands of members of our Austrian Peace Societies, that I write these lines and that I assure you of the warm sympathy that is felt in this country with the great cause you have met to further.

We know full well that free and independent America is the soil on which grew and flourished the oldest Peace Societies. And gratefully we acknowledge that it was America that first passed from theory to practice. With you Arbitration soon became a tangible reality, and it was your Government that placed it on a firm basis at the memorable Congress of Washington in 1890, a basis on which, so we hope, and so we believe, the edifice of future Law and Order will eventually be reared.

The practical work of the European Peace Congresses and Interparliamentary Conferences is to-day mainly directed to further the adoption of the American proposals for the establishment of Tribunals of Arbitration between the two greatest English-speaking nations: the petitions emanating from the last peace congress in Berne, some of which, as in the case of England and Denmark, have already been presented by their promoters to their respective parliaments, all urge the acceptance of those fraternal overtures. We feel confident that if once a precedent of the kind were created, the example would soon be followed and the methods of arbitration would also be adopted to settle disputes between the States of Europe. And when the day dawns that brings the long-delayed victory to the friends of Peace, now subjected to the military rule, they will gratefully remember that the citizens of your free country were the first to recognize the practicability of Arbitration.

The members of the Austrian Peace Society will follow your debates with the keenest interest; they feel that nowhere could a Peace Congress more appropriately be held than within the precincts of the great World's Fair, in itself a symbol of friendly and peaceful contest between the most highly cultivated nations of the globe.

To my personal friends in America I send my cordial greetings, to Mrs. Belva Lockwood, and Mr. Trueblood, to my brothers and sisters—I may call them so—for what link could be more fraternal than that which binds us together in common aims and aspirations! Their

words spoken in the New World will re-echo in the Old World, infusing new life and energy into their fellow workers there, helping and supporting them in the task they have set themselves to accomplish.

To be counted amongst those workers, will ever be the ardent desire of

Yours most sincerely,

BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

VIENNA, Aug. 1, 1893.

Mrs. BELVA A. LOCKWOOD, of Washington, said that she knew little of the work of women separate from that of men. She had grown up at home with the boys, had been educated with boys, had as a lawyer worked side by side with men, and in the peace work it had been the same. Men and women should work side by side for the doing away of the great evil of war.

Dr. W. EVANS DARBY said that on the other side of the water women hardly occupy the same place as in America. He therefore had considerable hesitation in speaking. But strong ideas existed also on the other side as to the power of women. A large portion of the Peace Society work in England was done by the ladies. He alluded to Mrs. Chant, who was to have spoken, but who was absent, and to Miss P. H. Peckover and Mrs. Richards. He sympathized with what Mrs. Lockwood had said about removing distinctions of sex in our work.

But there are great natural differences between the sexes, fitting men for one thing and women for another—even a finer and higher work. Keen insight, strong instinct, the finer feelings are on the side of women. He quoted Ruskin that "the ladies really hold this whole question of peace and war in their hands." If when war is declared the ladies would put on mourning and refuse to take it off till peace was declared, that would soon put an end to wars. The ladies have power to guide the men who control the sentiments of society. The power of a mother in the home, how mighty! The better qualities of a man come from his mother. A man is not nearly so powerful alone as when allied with a noble woman. Together they make up one whole. The strongest powers in history have been inspired by women. Women are behind the best work done by men. He had great pleasure in standing on the platform in that session devoted especially to woman's work for peace and in expressing his intense sympathy with the sisters.

Mrs. J. C. LEMON, of Oakland, Cal., representing the California Society, referred to the Indians. The work of her husband and herself as botanists carried them over the wilds of the western shores. In thirteen years of work in those regions among different tribes of Indians, especially in Arizona and New Mexico, they had never carried any weapon more warlike than a botanist's knife. The Indians had met them in all sorts of places, had been surprised to see a man and a woman working together, called them medicine men, brought them armfuls of bulbs

and plants, but had never done them any harm. To her the Indians were the most interesting thing in the world next to botany. The first thing an Indian does is to notice whether you are armed. If so, he is at once suspicious. If not, you are safe. They had proved this. The white man is to blame for the warlike propensities of the Indian.

A. C. CORRON, of New Jersey, said he had been horrified at seeing the implements of war at the Fair grounds. He criticised what he had heard in the adjoining hall in the Congress on Africa, that we must have Africa for Christ; if not by peaceful means, then by force. Mrs. Sheldon had told in the same meeting how she had travelled through Africa among the savage races unarmed and unhurt.

ALFRED H. LOVE, President of the Universal Peace Union, Philadelphia, said he regarded what he saw and felt there as the culmination of the aspirations of half a century. He was very much in the condition of the guard at the Fair grounds who played that he was a dummy soldier. When they poked him too much with their umbrellas he burst right out laughing. The speaker said he could not express his feelings in five minutes.

His life had been moulded by one of the best of mothers. He had been struck by one of his schoolmates. His father advised him to give the boy a sound thrashing, but his mother told him she had taught him never to strike back and asked him to take the boy some cakes. After debating the question he obeyed his mother. This great cause of peace is woman's cause. Women are the heroes of the world.

Boys and girls are given the same education, taught from the same book not to kill, not to lie, not to steal. At maturity they part company. If war is declared, the boy is taken and forced into a service where he must kill and lie and steal. It is all wrong. Boys and girls alike should have life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. He was opposed to that system of government which forced boys from their homes and to trample on their early education, to engage in deadly warfare. We should work for equal rights for men with women along this line. The training of men at such institutions as West Point was out of harmony with the true scheme of life.

HARRIET HOFFMAN BECKWITH, of Chicago, said she considered it one of the greatest honors of her life to be present at this Congress among those who are fighting this bloodless war. She had been interested in the remarks about woman's sphere. Let her have as wide a sphere as man's, and it would be seen what she could accomplish for peace. When Frances E. Willard and thousands of women were sending an appeal to Washington against a war with Chile, an editor had asked why women did not mind their own business and leave such

affairs to men. When woman was given her right sphere, such a question would never be raised.

Though women do not go to war and fight, they furnish the sons who leave their bodies to bleach on the field of battle. Hence they have the highest right to speak on the question. She honored men for what they had done. Verestschagin, the Russian artist, had done much by painting war in all its horrors. It has been the common soldiers who have given their lives; not the generals and the kings. Their wives, their mothers and their sisters should unite in protesting against war. It is well that children be taught to honor the flag of their country, but at the same time they should be taught to honor the flags of other nations. This would hasten the time when we shall love our neighbors as ourselves, and when war shall be no more.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16TH, 3 P. M.

Instead of a general session of the Congress at this hour, a special meeting of the "Ecclesiastical Peace Conference" was held, of which the following is a condensed summary:

This conference, appointed by a conference held in New York in December, 1891, assembled in Chicago, August 16, 1893. It consisted of delegates from the higher representative bodies of the leading Christian denominations that had concurred in a petition to governments.

The conference was called to order by Rev. Dr. W. A. Campbell, chairman of the executive committee. The opening prayer was made by Rev. Dr. Wm. Henry Roberts, of the Presbyterian church. Rev. Dr. John H. Elliott, of the Episcopal church, Washington, D. C., was chosen as president; and Rev. Dr. J. W. Heidt, of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist church, was chosen as secretary.

The report of the executive committee, located in Richmond, Va., was received and approved. The report states, "The design of the movement which we represent is to bring to bear the combined influence of the religious bodies of Christendom upon the governments of Christian nations, by means of petitions, with a view to securing the substitution of arbitration for war in settling international disputes."

The petition, which was first adopted by one of these religious bodies, and was sent to others for their concurrence, and for the adoption of which the executive committee has been working, has been given in a previous number of the *ADVOCATE*, and is therefore omitted here.

This petition, addressed to thirty-one governments in the respective language of each, has been laid before many ecclesiastical bodies, and it has been returned to the committee officially signed in the multiple copies, from the following bodies: Southern Baptist Convention of the United States; General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal church of United States; General Council of the Reformed Episcopal church; the Society of Friends of Great Britain, of Ireland; the Yearly Meetings of North Carolina and of Baltimore, and the Philanthropic Union of the Religious Society of Friends; German Evangelical Synod of North America; General Council of the

Evangelical Lutheran church in North America; Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Carolina; the following conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church—Michigan, Florida, South Carolina, North Georgia; the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian church in United States of America (Northern), of the Presbyterian church in United States (Southern), and of the United Presbyterian church; Reformed (Dutch) church in America; American Universalist church.

The report stated that the committee had information of its adoption by other bodies that had not yet returned the papers officially signed.

Certain recommendations of the report were referred to a business committee, consisting of Dr. W. H. Roberts, W. J. Onahan, Esq., Hon. J. Q. Ward, Rt. Rev. Samuel Fallows, Dr. W. A. Campbell, and the president and secretary.

Whilst the subject was before the body for consideration, this movement, which is within ecclesiastical limits, and designed to use Christian influence in behalf of peace, was heartily endorsed in earnest speeches by Benjamin F. Trueblood, of Boston, secretary of the American Peace Society, Dr. J. Müller of Upsala, Sweden, Mr. C. S. Smith, Rev. W. Evans Darby, LL. D., secretary of the Peace Society, London, and Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Roberts. Several of these speakers were not delegates to this Conference, but by invitation had the privileges of the floor. The secretaries of the two most prominent peace societies of the world, named above, whilst working through other channels, gave their earnest support to this movement.

On the second day of the sessions, resolutions reported by the business committee were adopted, which provide—

1. That the work of procuring the adoption of the petition be further prosecuted.

2. That Rev. W. A. Campbell, D.D., W. H. Pleasants, Esq., Col. C. O'B. Cowardin, John S. Ellett, Esq., Hon. J. Taylor Ellyson, Rev. Moses D. Hoge, D.D., Rev. Paul L. Menzel, Rev. P. A. Peterson, D.D., and Rt. Rev. A. M. Randolph, D.D., be appointed an executive committee to carry out the above purpose. The committee is located in Richmond, Va.

3. That the committees to correspond with the several denominations be continued, with such modifications as the executive committee may deem expedient.

4. That the following finance committee be appointed, with power to add to their number, to secure the funds needed for the work of the executive committee: John Hall, D.D., LL.D., New York; Wm. Henry Roberts, D.D., LL.D., Philadelphia; Josiah W. Leeds, Philadelphia; John S. Kennedy, Esq., New York; Col. E. W. Cole, Nashville; Geo. W. Childs, Esq., Philadelphia.

5. The executive committee was empowered to appoint committees in each country to take the petitions when adopted, and have them presented to their respective governments by such influential persons as they may select.

The thanks of the Conference were returned to the Congress Auxiliary that had provided for its accommodation, and to Dr. B. F. Trueblood, of the committee of arrangements of the Universal Peace Congress, for having made arrangements for the special session of this body.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 17TH, 10 A. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

Dr. William Henry Roberts, Secretary of the Presbyterian General Assembly, led in prayer.

William Penn Nixon, Editor of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, was introduced as Chairman of the morning and on taking the chair said in substance:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I certainly feel myself highly complimented in being called upon to preside over this meeting. I know of no organization whose objects are more in accord with my own than that of the people who contend against the terrors of the battlefield and for the beauties of peace.

The Peace Congress is to be congratulated that Chicago was chosen as the place of its meeting. The glad tidings of peace on earth is for all the nations, and there is no place where the eye and ear of all nations can be reached so easily as here on the shore of Lake Michigan. Representatives of all nations are here—lawmakers, rulers, sightseers, scientists, students of all kinds. They are looking for something new, a new thought, a new idea.

The law of love for which you plead is ever new in its varied applications. It ought to meet with a prompt response here and now. It must be lodged in the heart of individuals of every nation. It first reaches the few, then the many.

You are to be congratulated that in the midst of your deliberations has come so grand an example of the effect of such labors as yours; the decision of the greatest arbitration court ever organized has just been given. A difficulty which, a hundred years ago, would have been settled at the point of the sword, with great destruction of life and at great expense, has been adjusted by arbitration, the honor and dignity of both nations maintained, the peace of the world preserved. Our orators, it is true, have not had opportunity to glorify the bravery of our troops; but fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers have not had occasion to weep for those who come not back to them. The horrors of war are unspeakable, the beauties of peace are beyond description. Woe to those who bring about wars, blessings on those who make them as few as possible.

International arbitration is the harbinger of the day when there shall be no more war. But for such agitation as you are engaged in—but for the earnest, unselfish advocates of peace, the action of the two greatest nations of the world in arbitrating their differences would have been impossible. Their example will be influential, the great nations will follow their example. Economy, if no higher motive, will lead to this. But your work will not be done until the spirit of love, of justice and of mercy prevail to such an extent as to protect the weak nations from the stronger. Why should Siam, or any other oriental nation, appeal in vain for justice against any of the great powers?

I wish I could foresee the time when your advocacy will not be needed. Though that time may never come, the world will be the better and happier for your efforts, and I bid you God-speed in your great and good work.

In recognition of the great event of the Behring Sea decision, General C. H. Howard, on behalf of the Busi-

ness Committee, then moved that the following message of congratulation be sent to Queen Victoria and President Cleveland :

The World's Peace Congress of Chicago sends equal congratulations to Great Britain and America on the triumph of arbitration as a substitute for war, exemplified in the recent Behring Sea decision, cementing the friendship of both nations and full of happiest augury for mankind.

On the call of the chair for the adoption of the resolution, the entire audience arose, with enthusiastic applause.

Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Dr. W. Evans Darby and Alfred H. Love were appointed a committee to sign and send the message.

General C. H. Howard, editor of the *Farm, Field and Fireside*, Chicago, then read a very instructive paper entitled "A Military Man's View of Arbitration," in which he drew a strong argument for arbitration from the immense destruction of life and property, of happiness and good feeling caused by war.

The subject of a permanent International Court of Arbitration was next taken up. At the request of the American Peace Society, William Allen Butler, Dorman B. Eaton and Cephas Brainerd of New York, had prepared a draft of a plan for such a court, which was presented to the Congress. The plan, printed copies of which were distributed among the audience, was accompanied by the following explanatory paper which was read by Hon. Robert Treat Paine :

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF ARBITRATION.

Pursuant to a request of the American Peace Society and acting under its appointment as members of its Board of Honorary Councillors, we have carefully considered the advisability of submitting to the Congress of Arbitration and Peace to be held at the World's Columbian Exposition, a plan for an International Tribunal of Arbitration.

That the peaceful solution of controversies between nations by arbitration is to be sought in the interest of mankind by all available means, is an idea firmly established in the minds and consciences of intelligent men. Many leading jurists and publicists have made most valuable contributions to the literature of International Law, in proposals and plans looking to the establishment of an International Tribunal or Court of Justice, whose scope and jurisdiction should embrace all controversies arising between nations, so as to give a day in Court to any aggrieved Power and to secure a final determination in the interest alike of justice and of peace.

Among the many valuable contributions which have been made to the discussion of this important subject, dealing more or less in detail with the proposed constitution and methods of an International Tribunal of Arbitration, the following are conspicuous : — Proposed Treaty of Arbitration approved by the International American Conference ; Draft outlines of Rules of Arbitration, by

David Dudley Field ; Draft outlines of Rules, by Leone Levi ; *Memoire*, by M. H. William Blymyer ; Suggestions by Dr. M. R. Leverson ; the recent Essay by Sir Edmund Hornby.

It would be comparatively an easy task in the light and with the aid of what has already been accomplished and formulated by the eminent writers whose labors we have referred to above, to present a plan for the formation of such tribunals as they have respectively had in mind and endeavored to aid in establishing. The arrival at practical results in the attainment of the object they have had in view must, however, necessarily be a work of time, possibly of successive steps, more or less tentative in their character, leading by a wise and cautious method to such a demonstration of their efficiency and wisdom, commanding the respect and confidence of mankind, as to compel their adoption by the different governments of the world.

Arbitration as a means of determining disputes between individuals, corporations, communities or nations, must have its basis in the consent of the parties who agree to be bound by this mode of adjudication. Experience has shown that where arbitration has been made a substitute for litigation, its power for good has resulted more from the voluntary compact of parties than from any aid derived from statute or municipal law, and any effective results depend mainly upon the adherence of the parties to the terms of the arbitration.

We are impressed with the conviction that any successful and adequate method of establishing a permanent Court of Arbitration of an international character, must be the result of special treaty stipulations between nations willing to adopt such a judicial method of settling their disputes. After considering the various plans looking to the establishment of such a tribunal and making some progress in the endeavor to formulate a project upon similar lines, we have concluded that the better course is to confine ourselves to the recommendation of a plan for the creation, by means of treaty stipulations between consenting nations of a joint commission to be composed of the representatives of the high contracting parties, and clothed with ample authority to adopt and formulate a binding and permanent plan for a Tribunal or Court of Arbitration, to be so constituted and organized as to form an International Court of supreme and final jurisdiction for the hearing and determination of all questions and controversies arising between the contracting States. This Court should have power to make its own rules of procedure and practice ; to appoint its secretary or other assistants ; to select its place of meetings, and have central official action and to hold itself in readiness to act either as a whole body *in banc* or in smaller sections, as occasion should require, in view of the nature and importance of the questions which, on due notice, according to the course and practice of the Court as declared in its rules, should come before it at the instance of any of the contracting nations.

This recommendation, if favorably received by the Congress at Chicago and referred to a committee so constituted as to include in its members the publicists who have been most active in initiating and promoting international arbitration would, it seems to us, be likely to lead to some definite and practical results, and we respectively submit that the formation of such a committee would be an important step in advance in the interests of

peace and the avoidance of the causes of war. The Committee whose appointment we suggest, if accredited by the Chicago Peace Congress, would perpetuate the influence of that body and would have the great advantage of an actual and historic connection with it; and we cannot but think that the continuance of such a representative organization, with power to increase its numbers and fill vacancies, would be a means of aiding and enforcing public opinion and of availing of all opportunities which may offer for advancing the important objects committed to its care.

Respectfully submitted.

WM. ALLEN BUTLER,
DORMAN B. EATON,
CEPHAS BRAINERD.

NEW YORK, July 19, 1893.

The draft of a plan for the organization of an International Tribunal of Arbitration was then read by James Wood of Mount Kisco, N. Y., as follows:

PLAN FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF ARBITRATION.

The undersigned, named by the American Peace Society as "Honorary Counsel," received through its secretary a letter requesting them to prepare a draft plan for the organization and constitution of an International Tribunal of Arbitration.

The undersigned submit, by way of suggestion, the annexed rules, while also submitting the views which they consider controlling upon the general subject.

It seemed best to place the rules in the form of a *project* of a treaty, to be so drawn as to enable any nation, not an original signatory, to accede to and become a party to the same at any time after its execution by the powers which may at the outset concur in it.

This general scheme has received ample discussion in the various peace societies, and in societies having for their object the improvement or codification of international law, in text-books, and in various periodicals in this country and in Europe, beginning at a very early date; notably represented by the publication of the American Peace Society, in 1840, of a series of essays on "A Congress of Nations." There is quite a general familiarity, it is believed, with the views which have already been presented on one side or the other, of the topics involved in this debate. Of course it is desirable that public discussions should proceed, even if no permanent tribunal is ever established, for such discussions tend to increase the pressure of public opinion the world over, in favor of the peaceful adjustment of international differences by the course of arbitration.

The undersigned feel that great progress in this direction has already been made. A late publication on the subject by M. Passy, Paris, 1892, embraces a list of fifty-eight special arbitrations resorted to by amicable agreement since 1794. No doubt, the results obtained by this method of adjusting disputes have been such as to increase very largely the disposition on the part of statesmen to resort to it.

The recent International American Conference adopted the scheme of a treaty, though not without some dissent as to the general plan, as well as respects the details, notably represented by very able addresses by Mr. Rom-

ero, of Mexico, and Mr. Varas, of Chile; the views of the latter, adverse to the practicability of the plan for the establishment of a permanent tribunal, are well worthy of careful consideration.

The undersigned have examined the numerous plans which have heretofore been published, the suggestions contained in the recent treatises on international law, and manuscript rules prepared by Mr. David Dudley Field, of New York.

No attempt is made to present rules originated by the honorary counsel, but rather to adapt those heretofore proposed to their own ideas of suitability for the permanent rules which might be embraced in a general treaty.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

WM. ALLEN BUTLER,
CEPHAS BRAINERD.

July 19, 1893.

PROPOSED RULES.

In order to maintain peace between the high contracting parties, they agree as follows:

First. If any cause of complaint arise between any of the nations parties hereto, the one aggrieved shall give formal notice thereof to the other, specifying in detail the cause of complaint, and the redress which it seeks.

Second. The nation which receives from another notice of any cause of complaint, shall, within one month thereafter, give a full and explicit answer thereto.

Third. If the nation complaining and the nation complained of do not otherwise, within the two months after such answer, agree between themselves, they shall each appoint three members of a Joint Commission, who shall confer together, discuss the differences, endeavor to reconcile them, and within one month after their appointment shall report the result to the nations appointing them respectively.

Fourth. If the joint commissioners fail to agree, or the nations appointing them fail to ratify their acts, those nations shall, within twelve months after the appointment of the Joint Commission, give notice of such failure to the other parties to this treaty, and the cause of complaint shall be referred to the Tribunal of Arbitration, instituted as follows:

1. Each signatory nation shall, within one month after the ratification of this treaty, transmit to the other signatory nations the names of four persons as fit to serve on such tribunal.

2. From the list of such persons the nations at any time in controversy shall alternately and as speedily as possible select one after another until seven are selected, which seven shall constitute the tribunal for the hearing and decision of that controversy. Notice of each selection shall immediately be given to the permanent secretary, who shall at once notify the person so selected.

3. The tribunal thus constituted shall, by writing, signed by the members or a majority of them, appoint a time and place of meeting and give notice thereof through the permanent secretary to the parties in controversy; and at such time and place, or at other times and places to which an adjournment may be had, it shall hear the parties and decide between them, and such decision shall be final and conclusive.

4. If either of these parties fail to signify its selection of names from the lists within one month after a request from the other to do so, the other may select for it; and if any of the persons selected to constitute the tribunal shall die or fail from any cause to serve, the vacancy shall be filled by the nation which originally named the person whose place is to be filled.

Fifth. Each of the parties to this treaty binds itself to unite, as herein prescribed, in forming a Tribunal of Arbitration for all cases in controversy between any of them not adjusted by a Joint Commission, as hereinbefore provided, except that such arbitration shall not extend to any question respecting the independence or sovereignty of a nation, or its equality with other nations, or its form of government, or its internal affairs.

1. The Tribunal of Arbitration shall consist of seven members, and shall be constituted in the manner provided in the foregoing fourth rule; but it may, if the nations in controversy so agree, consist of less than seven persons, and in that case the members of the tribunal shall be selected jointly from the whole list of persons named by the signatory nations. Each nation claiming a distinct interest in the question at issue shall have the right to appoint one additional arbitrator on its own behalf.

2. When the tribunal shall consist of several arbitrators, a majority of the whole number may act, notwithstanding the absence or withdrawal of the minority. In such case the majority shall continue in the performance of their duties until they shall have reached a final determination of the questions submitted for their consideration.

3. The decision of a majority of the whole number of arbitrators shall be final, both on the main and incidental issues, unless it shall have been expressly provided by the nations in controversy that unanimity is essential.

4. The expenses of an arbitration proceeding, including the compensation of the arbitrators, shall be paid in equal proportions by the nations that are parties thereto, except as provided in subdivision 6 of this article; but expenses of either party in the preparation and prosecution of its case shall be defrayed by it individually.

5. Only by the mutual consent of all the signatory nations may the provisions of these articles be disregarded and courts of arbitration appointed under different arrangements.

6. A permanent secretary shall be appointed by agreement between the signatory nations, whose office shall be at Berne, Switzerland, where the records of the tribunal shall be preserved. The permanent secretary shall have power to appoint two assistant secretaries and such other assistants as may be required for the performance of the duties incident to the proceedings of the tribunal.

The salary of the permanent secretary, assistant secretaries and other persons connected with his office shall be paid by the signatory nations, out of a fund to be provided for that purpose, to which each of such nations shall contribute in a proportion corresponding to the population of the several nations.

7. Upon the reference of any controversy to the tribunal, and after the selection of the arbitrators to constitute the tribunal for the hearing of such controversy, it shall fix the time within which the case, counter-case, reply, evidence and arguments of the respective parties

shall be submitted to it, and shall make rules regulating the proceedings under which that controversy shall be heard.

8. The tribunal, as first constituted for the determination of a controversy, may establish general rules for practice and proceeding before all tribunals assembled for the hearing of any controversy submitted under the provisions of these articles, which rules may from time to time be amended or changed by any subsequent tribunal; and all such rules shall, immediately upon their adoption, be notified to the various signatory powers.

Sixth. If any of the parties to this treaty shall begin hostilities against another party without having first exhausted the means of reconciliation herein provided for, or shall fail to comply with the decisions of the Tribunal of Arbitration within one month after receiving notice of the decision, the chief executive of every other nation, party hereto, shall issue a proclamation declaring hostilities or failure to be an infraction of this treaty, and at the end of thirty days thereafter the ports of the nations from which the proclamation proceeds shall be closed against the offending or defaulting nation, except upon condition that all vessels and goods coming from or belonging to any of its citizens shall, as a condition, be subjected to double the duties to which they would otherwise have been subjected. But the exclusion may be at any time revoked by another proclamation of like authority, issued at the request of the offending nation, declaring its readiness to comply with this treaty in its letter and spirit.

Seventh. A conference of representatives of the nations, parties to this treaty, shall be held every alternate year, beginning on the first of January, at the capital of each in rotation, and in the order of the signatures to this treaty, for the purpose of discussing the provisions of the treaty and desired amendment thereof, averting war, facilitating intercourse and preserving peace.

PEACE SOCIETIES IN AMERICA.

The American Peace Society, 3 Somerset St., Boston, Mass., Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary.

The Universal Peace Union, 123 Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa., Alfred H. Love, President.

The Christian Arbitration and Peace Society, 310 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., John B. Wood, Secretary.

National Association for the Promotion of Arbitration, Washington, D. C., Belva A. Lockwood, President.

Peace Department of the N. W. C. T. U., Winthrop Centre, Maine, Hannah J. Bailey, Superintendent.

The Peace Association of Friends in America, Richmond, Ind., Daniel Hill, Secretary.

The South Carolina Peace Society, Columbia, S. C., Rev. Sidi H. Browne, President.

The Illinois Peace Society, 200 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill., Allen J. Flitcraft, Secretary.

The Pacific Coast Arbitration Society, Monterey, Cal., E. Berwick, Secretary.

The Connecticut Peace Society, Old Mystic, Conn., Fred E. Whipple, Secretary.

The Rhode Island Peace Society, Providence, R. I., Robert P. Gifford, Secretary.

Friends' Peace Association of Philadelphia, 140 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa., William F. Wickersham, Corresponding Secretary.